131 /6 cont./
101 conclude that these Indians are by preference dwellers on the savannas and not forest dwellers.

114 I copy, because they are absolutely in conformity with my
361 observations, Dr. Simpson's words: "An Indian requires three things for his home: (1) an open space, a savanna of greater or lesser area, for his dwelling; (2) a perpetual stream of water, sufficiently wide and deep so that he can swim and fish or, at least, which will provide a supply of water all year; (3) a forest on the edge of which he can grow crops and have wood available and, secondarily, where he can hunt."

131 12. The Gran Sabana is located "between the parallels 4° 34' and 6° 45' north longitude /sic/ and the meridians 60° 34' and 62° 50' west of Greenwich." The Gran Sabana is thus located in the most southeastern corner of Bolivar State and of Venezuela, in that part where Venezuela touches Brazil and British Guiana.

●133 The Gran Sabana is shaped like an immense open fan, the ribs of which would be the several rivers that form the Caroní, which is the central rib or vein of this entire great river valley or hydrographic basin.

132 13. In general, the climate of the Gran Sabana, despite
133 its proximity to the tropic is temperate; this is due to the altitude above sea level and the high mountains which surround it.

131 14. The area of the Gran Sabana is approximately 35,000 square kilometers.

133 15. The principal mountain ranges, which surround this almost virgin district and which give it an aspect of majesty and grandiosity beyond imagination, are: Roroima, Iru-tepui, Putari-t, Lema (Ilotoyeukurú, Tukui-ouki-yén, Morochipán), Aparamán, Auyán, Aprada, Apakará, Chimaté, Tirepón, Churí, Akopán, Uekpuimá, Katurán, and Uei-tepui. Of lesser importance are Apaurai, Prai-tepui, Arumá-tepui, Sororopán, Pavi-tepui, Uona-tepui, and others.

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133 16. The principal rivers, which joined together form the Caroní, are: Akaruai, Apanhuao, Yuruaní, Kukenan, Surukún, Uaiparú, and Tiriká.

There is besides a small strip of land which spills its waters toward the Karumán or Karmuarán River (British Guiana).

The abundance of water is one of the characteristics of the Gran Sabana; and even more is the hydraulic force, also metaphorically called "white coal," since all the rivers rush toward the Caroní in innumerable waterfalls or cataracts, the mere listing of which would fill several pages.

[137] 17. The Gran Sabana owes its name to a predominance in the region of natural fields of straw, which grows in shocks; but it especially owes its name to a contrast with the forest of British Guiana and the other bordering regions of Kuyuni, Paragua, etc. But let it not be assumed that this entire district is a single uniformly level highland like the Venezuelan llanos or the Argentinian pampas; quite the contrary, this is an extremely cut-up region, with innumerable hills, ridges, valleys, rivers, streams, and arroyos.

18. From the hydrographic point-of-view, it would be much more exact to call these lands "Upper Caroní," as the authors of the Taurepán-Spanish Catechism did; since in truth all the rivers flow toward the Caroní basin.

19. Inversely, from the orographic point-of-view, it would be more exact, expressive, and correct to call this region "Guiana Ridge," as the noted historian Caulín did when he wrote: "In this Ridge, which gives rise to the rivers of its coast, and runs toward the headwaters of the Suriñama River, dwell different tribes of Infantile Indians... These are Zapara, Macusi, Toruma, Cariguana, Aturayo, and Guacavayo.... Ridge that the Indians call Tumukurake..., and it carries along with it the rivers Amu, Maseruni, Cuyuni, and Apamoni"... (H. N. A., ed. Caracas, 1935, p. 221).

103 The Indians themselves in their language call this region "Uek-tá," which means "place or land of hills," in

/1 cont./

103 contraposition with "Remono-tá," "land of fields or level savannas," a name by which they know the bordering region of the Branco River in the neighboring republic of Brazil.

135 20. I believe that the wealth, both present and potential, of the Gran Sabana has been spoken and written about with evident exaggeration. (I am not here speaking, naturally, about mineral wealth nor that of the subsoil, obscure, problematical, and /8/ almost never with real positive results for the region wherein they are found.)

137 Possibilities for farming and grazing cannot be said to be optimal; and there even exist substantial areas which are wasteland or have very sparse vegetation.

● 133 21. Nonetheless there is a great present and positive wealth in the Gran Sabana, which has been taken advantage of by the Pemón Indians for centuries and that we can share in should we go there, our lungs filled, our hands full, our eyes struck by emotion; it is the moderate climate, the inexhaustible watercourses, and the beauties of enchanting landscapes.

Those who may have had the fortune to visit this region will not find exaggerated these verses from one of the rhymes of our native children of the Mission of Santa Elena, "Viva the Nation -- and viva, viva the Sabana, -- which is the best of Guiana."

This is a beautiful region, certainly the most beautiful of all Guiana: beautiful in its indescribable landscapes, in the almost artificial profile of its mountains, in its valleys and rises, in its moriche palm groves swaying in the breeze, in its countless streamlets of pure and crystalline water, and, above all, in its immense waterfalls touched with rainbow hues.

133 The Pemón Indians sing of these beauties while enjoying
538 them, in their dance songs, in their tales and legends, only lacking the pen to come to copy them and printing to make them take flight on paper wings.

2:Armellada--11a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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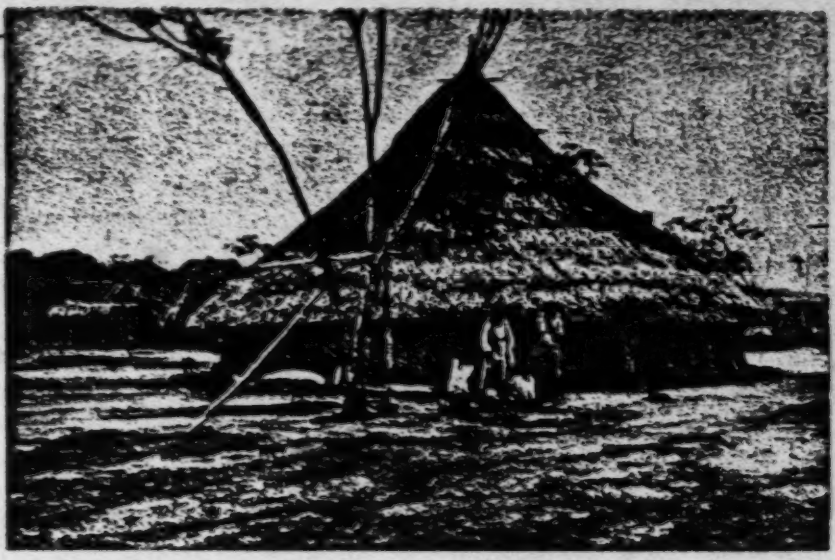

The author of this work goes into the malocas /houses/ and into the soul of the Indians.

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Settlement and town a building at Kavanayén, formed by the Capuchin missionaries.

2:Armellada--11b M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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Beautiful views of the Gran Sabana.

/9 cont./

133 23. The waterways are unsuitable for navigation because of the impetuous currents which at each step hinder the passage of boats, even small native curiaras; and this highland, surrounded on the north, east, and west by craggy mountain ridges and immense forests, this region is, with respect to Venezuela, a true nest of eagles or of airplanes. Only to the south are there some easier ways across some gorges of Pakaraima toward the Brazilian campos of the Branco River, which has been and in great measure still is the nursemaid and like the umbilical cord of this part of Venezuela. The highway decreed in the distant times of General Gómez has still not poked its head into those lands; and there one lives dependent upon the vulture-canoe, kurún-kanhúa, as the Indians say /the airplane/.

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Chapter III

The Soul of the Gran Sabana and the Soul of the Pemón Indians

24. The patá-muná. 25. Truisms. 26. A copper-colored soul? 27. Conclusions. 28. The Indian is a child. 29. The maloca, symbol of the Indian soul. 30. Imagination a predominant faculty of the Indians.

24. To avoid caviling to my readers, I wish to tell them without circumlocutions that the soul of the Gran Sabana, to which I here refer, is the Indians. /10/

Certainly, if everywhere form is what gives life to material, and the inhabitants of a region with their typical customs and activities are those who give life and interest to their lands, it need not be said that they who have given and do give interest and life to the Gran Sabana are the Indians, its natural

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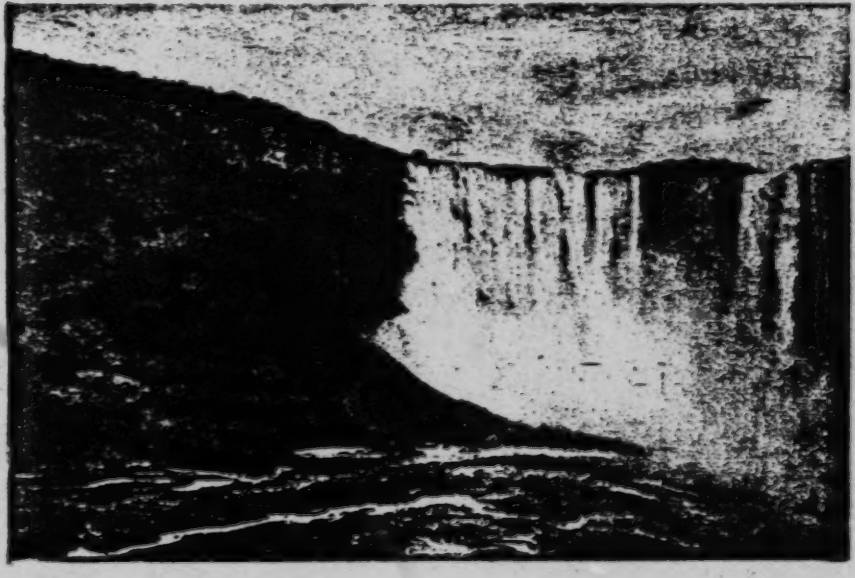
Great waterfalls, an as yet untapped source of energy and wealth.



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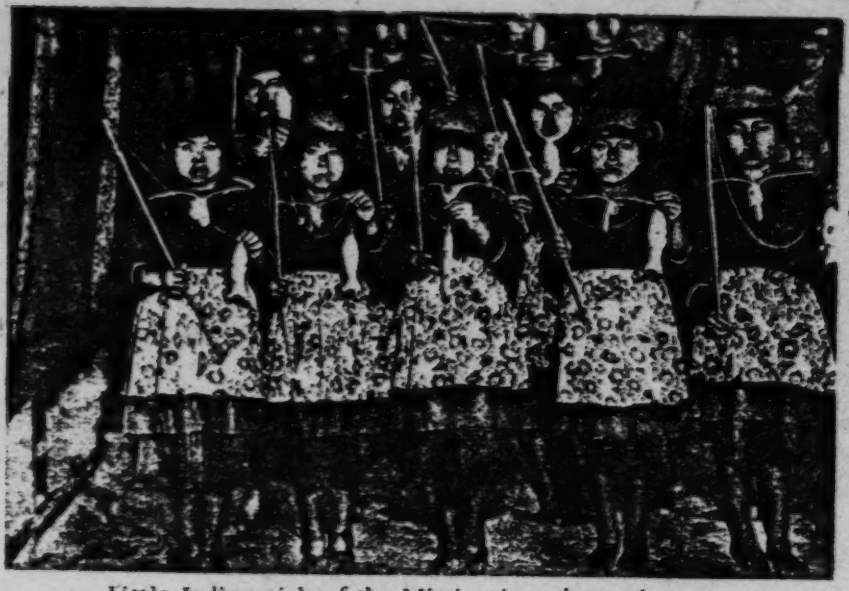

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Little Indian girls of the Mission in a dramatic performance.

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One of the many rivers which run through the Gran Sabana and a beautiful grove of moriche palms.

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Native mothers with their children receiving gifts from a missionary sister.

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This great stone mass and these woods tell us of the secrets enclosed in the Gran Sabana.

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A cute little Indian child in a guayare.

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Central mountain ridges of the Gran Sabana, covered with a beautiful moriche palm grove.

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Beautiful views of plain, mountain, and sky in the Gran Sabana.

101 particular region is that some tribes habitually live in forests while others ha-
132 bitually live in sabanas, grassy plains amid the forests. This distinction may
182 accompany or induce definite cultural differences even between tribes that are
131 closely allied racially and linguistically. The Kamarakotos, like the Taure-
133 panes, are sabana Indians.[1] They live in sabanas in the midst of surrounding
forests, in a series of valley bottoms about 400 to 500 meters in elevation.
They always live near but practically never in the forests and strongly prefer
relatively flat valley bottoms, seldom penetrating into the mountains even
temporarily. Until taken up by white explorers there is no memory or legend
of any of them ever climbing Auyán-tepúi or any of the other real mountains
132 around their valleys. In these valleys frost is, of course, quite unknown and
the days are always warm enough for clothes to be unnecessary for warmth but
are seldom disagreeably hot. The nights are usually chilly and make sleeping
indoors preferable. There is little seasonal variation of temperature, but there
[221] are the usual well-defined rainy and dry seasons of the tropics. As in most of
Venezuela, the rainy season is "winter," when there is little activity in travel,
hunting, or agriculture, and the dry season is the active time.

121 Recently subject, like all the Indians, to growing Venezuelan[2] influence,
178 the Kamarakotos yet retain practically all the pre-Columbian culture of this
[122] area in readily recognizable and relatively unmodified form. This makes them
an almost ideal group for study from this point of view and it also makes their
study of much greater value than might appear from the small size of this one
tribe. As a type study it is a concrete, unified, but broadly characteristic ex-
ample of the sort of culture that once prevailed over most of Venezuela and
that still prevails over an enormous area of that country. Such "civilized,"
"Venezuelan," or "European" influence as does appear in this tribe adds to,
rather than subtracting from, its importance and interest. This influence lends
itself to clear analysis and it also typifies a widespread process and one of the
greatest social and economic importance.

114 Studies of this sort have been relatively so rare in Venezuela that an ob-
server can be sure that almost anything he observes is important and worth pub-
lishing as long as it is accurately reported and intelligently interpreted. There
has, it is true, been a long series of reports on Venezuelan Indians and certain-
ly no depreciation of these studies is intended. Some of the early colonists
and missionaries left very valuable accounts, irreplaceable because of their
first-hand records of things now vanished. It goes without saying, however,
that these were not unprejudiced or skilled observers and that their information
was not gathered in a scientific way or integrated with anthropology in gen-
eral, a science that hardly existed at that time. Other and ethnologically
more accurate and sophisticated travelers, like Humboldt and Schomburgk,
have since added many more and, on the whole, better data of the same sort.
It is necessary to mention only the names of Cordero, Salas, Ernst, Tavera-

1, 2 [see footnotes on p. 305, category 116 - Analyst]

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Fig. 1 — Typical Kamarakoto Settlement.

Uruyén seen from the east. In the foreground is the edge of a forest, in which farm clearings are made. Beyond the buildings of Uruyén is the Aichá River, flowing from left to right. The trees in the right background follow the Yuruán, the confluence of which with the Aichá (white with reflected light on the water), is seen to the right. In the left background is the upper end of the Kamarata Valley, with its various small sabanas, and in the right background above the sabanas are the two lower terraces of Auyán-tepúi.

[p.107]

LAND AND PEOPLE

Region Inhabited

361 A Kamarakoto Indian requires three things for a place of habitation: (1) An open space, a sabana of larger or smaller size, for his actual dwelling. (2) a perennial stream of water, preferably one large enough for swimming and fishing but at least one that assures a year-round water supply, and (3) a forest in the edge of which to make his farm clearings, with wild plant food, timber, and hunting as secondary considerations. For reasons mainly psychological, he very strongly prefers not to live in a forest even though his way of life requires living near one. He is a sabana Indian, not a forest Indian. This 361 103 is illustrated by the case of Juan José and his family, who formerly lived in Uruyén. A few years ago he moved a short distance to the south of there, to a place called Orná, and built a new house in relatively open summer forest. After brief residence there he moved again, retaining his farm-patch at Orua, but building his house at Aleuiba (alewiiba) where there is a small sabana and his dwelling is out in the open.

13 • These requirements have caused the concentration of Kamarakoto population around the southern, eastern, and northeastern sides of Auyán-tepúi where there are broad valleys. Their bottoms are mainly open and grassy, a succession of sabanas, and through them flow perennial streams joined by numerous tributaries with clear, healthful water and well stocked with fish. These sabanas are bounded by forests and the whole region is ideal for the Kamarakoto way of life.

●133 The Indians themselves think of this region as divided into four continuous 103 but geographically separable areas. First is Kamarata, properly speaking, [823] which is the valley south of Auyán-tepúi, between it and Ennarapaimá-tepúi, 96 drained by the Aicha River and its numerous small tributaries. Directly east of this is Akanamuinta, a broad, open area southeast of Auyán-tepúi, including

96 [see foot note on p. 318, category 116 – Analyst]

133 103 the extreme lower course of the Aichá and part of the Akanán River around the mouth of the Aichá, which is tributary to the Akanán. The third area is the lower valley of the Akanán, east of Auyán-tepúi, between Akanamuintá and the confluence of the Akanán with the Karao, and the fourth is formed by sabanas bordering the Karao near this confluence, northeast of Auyán-tepúi.

131 361 [103 As the name implies, Kamarata ("the place Kamara") is traditionally the home of the Kamarakotos ("the people of Kamara"). At present Uruyén, which is approximately in the middle of Kamarata, is the most western inhabited place in that valley. The upper, western end of the valley, at least [166 as suitable for habitation, is now completely uninhabited. The Indians say that it was densely inhabited until recently and this is obviously true since [267 abandoned farm patches can be seen there and traces of houses.[97] Many of the people are said to have died from fever or spirit-possession and the rest moved away. Now there are only four inhabited places considered as in Kamarata (one of which, Aleuíba, alewi:ba, is outside the valley proper), and the center of population is in the lower Akanán valley, where approximately half of this "central group" of Kamarakotos live.

131 137 The inhabited area and the tribe itself are well-defined to the north and to the east. No Kamarakotos live north of the Karao valley where there begins an enormous stretch of forest virtually unbroken by sabanas and therefore uninhabitable to these Indians. To the east no one lives more than half a day's travel east of the Akanán, where another lesser stretch of forest separates this region from the northern part of the Gran Sabana.

101 612 [131 139 To the west and southwest, however, the boundaries of the tribe are extremely vague. Kamarata is here well-defined by mountains and forests, but at no great distance beyond these in the valleys of the Caroní and its tributaries there are sabanas which are inhabited by Indians indistinguishable from the Kamarakotos. The Indians themselves do not know how many of these people there are and are quite undecided as to whether they should be called Kamarakotos or not. Unlike what may be called the central group, in the Aichá, Akanán and Karao valleys, these Indians are not in constant touch with each other or with the nuclear group, and the authority over them claimed by the cacique is purely nominal as he does not really know who most of them are or [184 where they live. In general they are thus more isolated and are less affected by the so-called civilizing influences centering within the nuclear group. They do frequently visit Kamarata to trade, visit, dance, and drink and are treated not quite as members of the family but still not as foreigners or outsiders. Their speech does not differ perceptibly from that of the central group. Some of them call themselves Kamarakotos, but generally they are called Arekunas by the central Kamarakotos. Except for the more attenuated influence on them of the recent expeditions, their culture is identical with that of the central 114 group. I have seen enough of them to verify these statements, but the present

101 97 [see footnote on p. 318, category 116 - Analyst]

Uruyén is located on a small, flat sabana the Uruyén-tai, in the middle of Kamarakoto on the south side of the Aichá River. The sabana is a terrace, which breaks down abruptly about two meters to the low-water level of the river and the buildings are near the edge of this terrace, above normal high-water. The Yuruán, a perennial tributary flowing from Auyán-tepúi, joins the Aicha at Uruyén on the opposite side. Above this, on the Uruyén side, there is an embayment in the terrace, apparently an old meander of the Aichá, which formerly held a deep pool of water in which uruyi fish were common. This had some influence in locating habitations here and gave the name Uruyén to the site. The uruyis have all been killed off at this locality and the pool is now a mere marsh at low-water, although flooded in the rainy season, but the other advantages of the site cause continued occupation. A short distance from Uruyén to the south and to the east there are forests and the farm patches are made in these. The site has been occupied since before the memory of living men and there are traces of older dwellings that have been destroyed.

There are now seven buildings standing at Uruyén, but two of them are completely unused. The nature of the buildings may be tabulated as follows:

Type of building	Material		Use
	Roof	Walls	
A. Elongate: parapan.	kunwada-yare.	maripada-yare.	Principal dwelling, Reyes and family.
B. Rectangular shelter: wata-imedapun.	kunwada-yare.	(none)	Work-house for A.
C. Circular: waipa.	kunwada-yare.	maripada-yare.	Partly abandoned and in disrepair but used as a work-house for B and for visitors.
D. Elongate: parapan.	kunwada-yare.	mud (non).	Dwelling, Claudio and family.
E. Rectangular, with walls, "calabozo": wata-timeakon.	kunwada-yare.	mud (non).	Used as a "calabozo" in the rainy season and for visitors.

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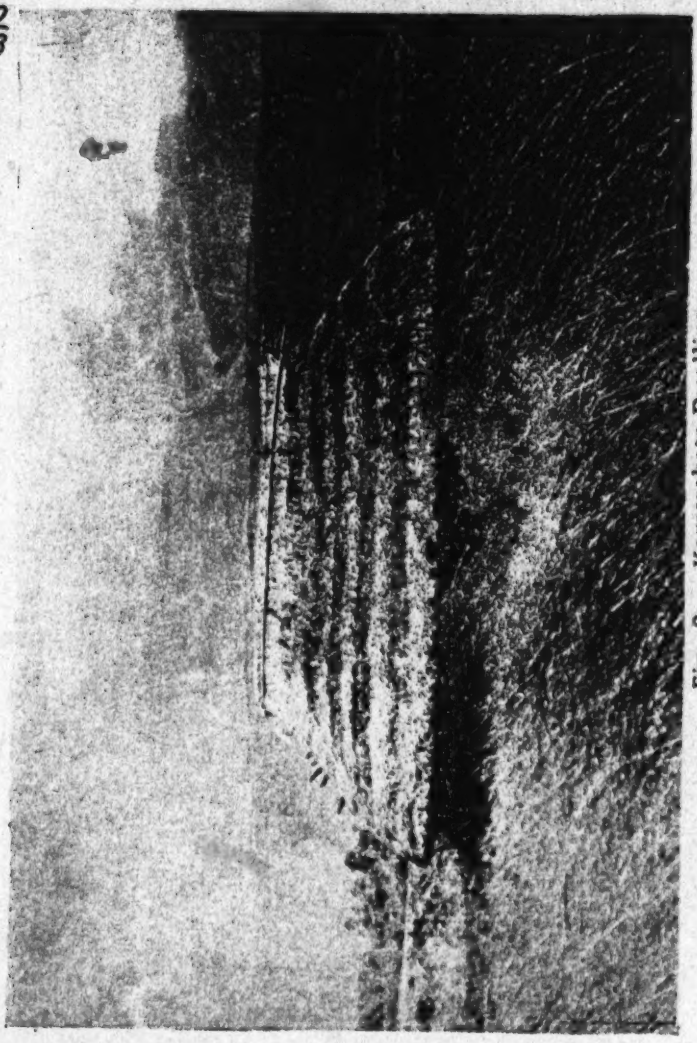

Fig. 8 — Kamarakoto Dwelling.
Same building as Figs. 6-7. Photograph of south side. (Slopes of Auyán-tepúi visible below clouds in background).

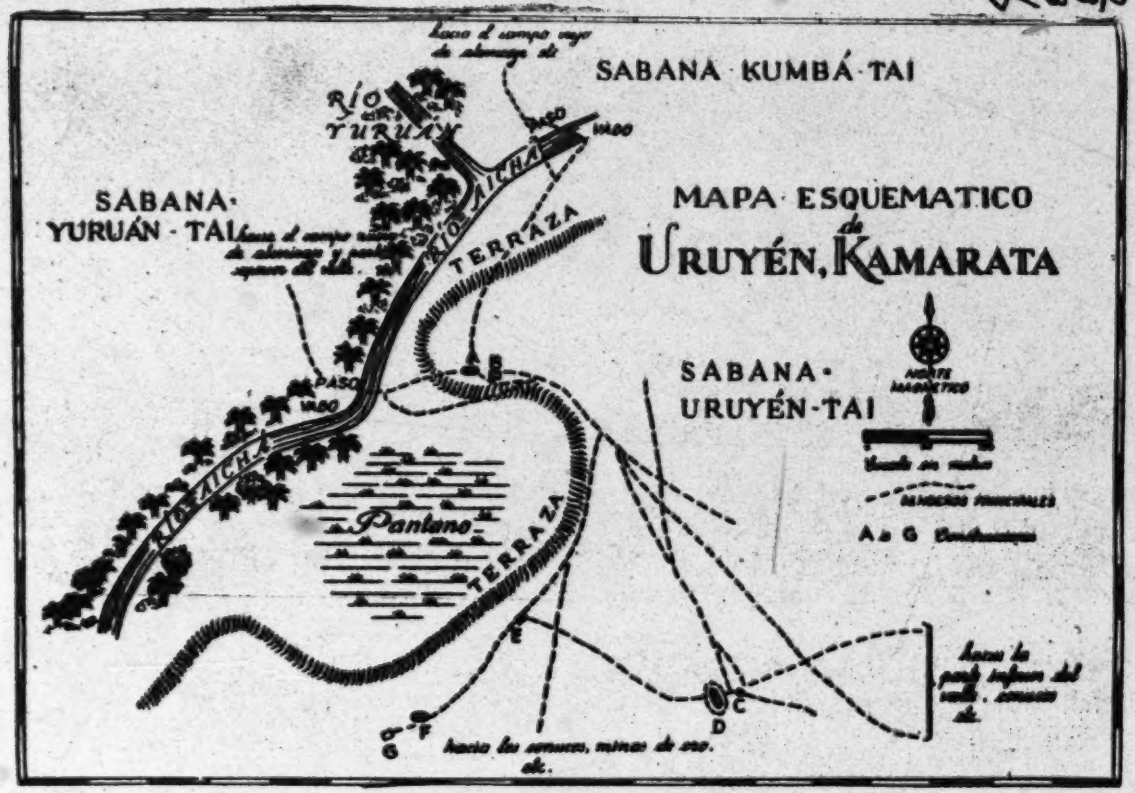

Fig. 11 - Kamarakoto Settlement.
Sketch map of Uruyén. A - G, buildings, see descriptions in text.

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5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto
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Fig. 12 — Kamarakoto Settlement.
Uruyén from the north. In the foreground is the edge of the Kumbá-tai, (on which the old air field was located). The moriche palms are growing on the swampy lower level between this and the Aichá River. Beyond the river, on a dry terrace, is the Uruyén-tai and Uruyén, the buildings of which can be dimly seen. The low, forest-covered hills beyond Uruyén are on igneous rock and against the horizon to the right is the east end of Enuarapaimá-tepui.

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5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto

Fig. 19 – Barbasco Fishing.
Carrying the prepared fish-poison (inɛ' in this case) up the stream (Río Yurnán), which is here low at the end of dry season.

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5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto

Fig. 25 — Pressing Casave.

Typical use of the Arekuna casave-press, tangoi' (Venezuelan Spanish "sebucán"). This woman is Taurepán, but the press and its use are identical among the Kamarakotos.

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Fig. 36 — Kamarakoto Spinning.
The whirling spindle has been dropped. The thread is held by the left hand and unspun cotton fed into it with the right.

5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto

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Fig. 69 — Kamarakoto Bridge.

Typical pole-bridge of the more carefully constructed sort, across deep water in a marsh near Uruyén.

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Fig. 72 -- Kamarakoto Canoe.

The canoe and paddle shown in Fig. 71 are here seen in use on the Aichá River at Uriyén.

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Fig. 78 — Kamarakoto Boys Wrestling.

5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto

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Fig. 80 — The Rock called Kamarakoto.
According to Kamarakoto legend this rock, toward the upper end of Kamarata, is the petrified progenitor of the tribe.

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Fig. 81 — Kamarakoto Group.
The small children are playing while a woman washed clothes in the Aichá River.

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Fig. 86 — Kamarakoto Young Man and Boy.

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Fig. 97 – Taurepán Adult Male.

No. 10 (T.), now lives at Santa Elena and has four dead and two living children (one an idiot).